

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00  
EB-08 EA-10 FRB-03 INR-10 NEA-10 NSAE-00 ICA-11  
OPIC-03 SP-02 TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01 AGRE-00  
OMB-01 SS-15 DODE-00 PA-01 PM-05 NSC-05 /121 W  
-----093412 112229Z /75

R 111513Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5277  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USMISSION USNATO

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USEEC AND USOECD ALSO FOR EMBASSIES

E.O. 11652: N.A.  
TAGS: ELAB, SP  
SUBJECT: WORKERS' COMMISSIONS FIRST CONGRESS: WRAP-UP

REF: MADRID 7082

1. SUMMARY: THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST-DOMINATED  
CC.OO. SUPPORTED THE UNION'S RECENT POLICY LINES, RE-  
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ELECTED SECGEN MARCELINO CAMACHO, AND VOTED IN A 42-  
PERSON EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF WHICH 37 ARE PCE MEMBERS.  
THE CONGRESS GAVE ITS FIRM SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC  
PROCESS IN SPAIN, AND CAMACHO WAS CAREFUL TO TAKE A  
COOPERATIVE LINE WITH RESPECT TO THE GOVERNMENT AND  
THE MONCLOA PACT. TWO IMPRESSIONS STOOD OUT IN THE  
MIND OF THE BRITISH LABOR ATTACHE (WHO WAS PRESENT):

THE REPEATED EMPHASIS ON UNITY WITH THE SOCIALIST UGT AND THE DOMINANT "COMMUNIST ATMOSPHERE". THE CC.OO., AS THE PCE, IS ANXIOUS TO PROMOTE AN IMAGE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND MODERATION, AND WANTS NOTHING MORE THAN TO BLEND INTO SPAIN'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROCESS. END SUMMARY.

2. OBSERVERS GENERALLY AGREED THAT THERE WERE NO SURPRISES IN THE JUNE 21-25 FIRST CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' COMMISSIONS (CC.OO.) WHICH OFFICIALLY MARKED THE TRANSITION FROM AN "ILLEGAL", VAGUELY-DEFINED "WORKERS' MOVEMENT" TO A FULL-FLEDGED, LEGALLY RECOGNIZED TRADE UNION. THE DELEGATES GAVE STRONG SUPPORT TO THE UNION'S RECENT POLICY LINES (REFTEL) AND BY AN ALMOST UNANIMOUS VOTE RE-ELECTED SECGEN MARCELINO CAMACHO (1103 FOR, 80 AGAINST, AND 4 ABSTENTIONS) AND 23 OF THE 30 MEMBERS OF THE OUTGOING EXECUTIVE COMMISSION. THE NEW AND ENLARGED (42 MEMBERS) EXECUTIVE COMMISSION CONSISTS OF 37 MEMBERS OF THE MAJORITY SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE) ELEMENT, TWO AND ONE MILITANTS RESPECTIVELY REPRESENTING MINORITY ELEMENTS OF THE RADICAL LEFT, MAOIST MC (MOVIMIENTO COMUNISTA) AND LCR (LIGA COMUNISTA REVOLUCIONARIA), AND TWO INDEPENDENTS. ON JULY 3, THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION ELECTED FROM ITS MEMBERSHIP A 19-PERSON PERMANENT SECRETARIAT HEADED BY SECGEN CAMACHO AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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INCLUDING NICOLAS SARTORIUS (POLICY AND "UNITARY" RELATIONS), JULIAN ARIZA (ORGANIZATION), AND SERAFIN ALIAGA (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS).

3. BOTH THE UGT REPRESENTATIVE (SECRETARY FOR TRADE UNION RELATIONS JOSE MARIA ZUFIAUR, FORMER USO SECGEN) AND PCE LEADER SANTIAGO CARRILLO SPOKE ON THE CLOSING DAY. ZUFIAUR'S FIRM REJECTION OF ANY INSTITUTIONALIZED UNITY WITH THE CC.OO. DREW WHISTLES AND CATCALLS FROM THE FLOOR. QUITE OBVIOUSLY EXPRESSING THE UGT'S OFFICIAL POSITION AGAINST ACROSS-THE-BOARD "UNITY OF ACTION" WITH THE CC.OO., ZUFIAUR DECLARED: "TO TODAY INSTITUTIONALIZE SOME UNITY OF ACTION AGREEMENTS WOULD HINDER RATHER THAN ADVANCE THE PRINCIPLE OF UNITY, WITH EVIDENT RISKS OF RUPTURE AND RETROGRESSION." THUS, HE SAID, EVERY UGT-CC.OO. COMMON ACTION MUST BE EXAMINED ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. IN HIS MODERATE AND LOW-KEY ADDRESS, CARRILLO SOUGHT TO SMOOTH OVER THE DIFFERENT APPROACHES OF THE UGT AND THE CC.OO. TO LABOR UNITY: "I SALUTE THE WISH FOR UNITY EXPRESSED BY THIS CONGRESS --- BUT IT IS NOT A MATTER OF FORCING ANYONE'S WILL. UNITY WILL NOT BE A SHORT-TERM PROCESS,

BUT IT WILL ENJOY THE EFFORTS AND WILL OF ALL." THE  
PCE LEADER THEN WENT ON TO "GIVE ITS FULL SUPPORT TO  
THE CC.OO.'S ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAM."

4. THE BRITISH LABATT, WHO ATTENDED THE CONGRESS,  
SUMMARIZED HIS OBSERVATIONS AS FOLLOWS. IT WAS A  
WELL-ORGANIZED CONGRESS -- BETTER ORGANIZED THAN THE  
EARLIER UGT CONGRESS (BARCELONA 400) -- AND THE  
DELEGATES RESPONDED IN A DISCIPLINED MANNER TO THE  
DIRECTIONS OF THE LEADERSHIP. TWO IMPRESSIONS STOOD  
OUT IN HIS MIND: THE REPEATED EMPHASIS ON UNITY WITH  
THE SOCIALIST UGT, AND THE DOMINANT "COMMUNIST  
ATMOSPHERE" WHICH WAS ACCENTUATED BY THE STRONG  
EAST BLOC REPRESENTATION (REFTEL). CAMACHO HAD NOTED  
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R 111513Z JUL 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID  
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THAT THE CONGRESS HAD GIVEN ITS FIRM SUPPORT TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND TO THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE CC.OO. LEADER HAD BEEN CAREFUL TO TAKE A COOPERATIVE LINE WITH RESPECT TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MONCLOA PACT IN HIS ANXIETY TO ASSURE THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION PROCESS. THE BRITISH LABATT SAID THAT ALTHOUGH ANY MENTION OF CC.OO. - PCE LINKS HAD BEEN CAREFULLY AVOIDED, HE WAS MORE CONVINCED THAN EVER THAT THE SPANISH COMMUNISTS WILL BE USING THEIR TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AS THEIR PRINCIPAL VEHICLE TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ADVANCES.

5. STV INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY ALEX AGUIRREZABAL, HIS UNION'S OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE AT THE CONGRESS, ALSO HAS SHARED HIS IMPRESSIONS WITH LABATT. PRE-CONGRESS MEETINGS OF CC.OO. PROVINCIAL FEDERATIONS HAD SERVED TO SET THEIR HOUSE IN ORDER WELL BEFOREHAND, AND THE COMMUNIST CONTROL WAS STRONGER THAN HE HAD BELIEVED. THE COMMITTEES HAD ADOPTED THE LEADERSHIP'S "PARTY LINE" DURING THEIR SESSIONS, AND IT HAD BEEN INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT THE POWERFUL CATALAN AND BASQUE CC.OO. ELEMENTS HAD ALWAYS VOTED THE LINE OF THE LEADERSHIP. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ELECTORAL COMMITTEE -- UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF SARTORIUS -- HAD BEEN SECRET NOT OPEN -- AND THE RESULT HAD BEEN AN OVERWHELMING 37 TO 5 PCE MAJORITY IN THE 42-PERSON EXECUTIVE COMMISSION. (COMMENT: THE EMBASSY NOTES THAT WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT THE STRONG PCE INFLUENCE IN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SARTORIUS TOLD THE PRESS THAT MEMBERSHIP HAD BEEN BASED UPON TRADE UNION RATHER THAN POLITICAL TENDENCY CONSIDERATIONS. THE LARGE POLITICAL PARTY ELEMENT COULD PERHAPS BE EXPLAINED, HE SAID, BY THE FACT THAT THOSE MOST ACTIVE IN THE TRADE UNION FIELD WERE USUALLY THOSE WHO ALSO WERE INVOLVED POLITICALLY.) REGARDING SPANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO, AGUIRREZABAL NOTED THAT WHILE CAMACHO HAD CONTENTED HIMSELF WITH SIMPLY OPPOSING IT, A MINORITY ELEMENT (INCLUDING SOME CC.OO. METALWORKERS) HAD WANTED A STRONGER ANTI-NATO -- PERHAPS EVEN EAST-LEANING -- POLICY LINE. THE CC.OO. WAS A MONOLITHIC STRUCTURE WITH A VERY DISCIPLINED ORGANIZATION AND LINE OF STRATEGY. IT WOULD THEREFORE BEHOOVE THE UGT -- WITH ITS DIVERGENT BASE AND "LACK OF ANY REAL STRATEGY

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LINE" -- TO WATCH ITS STEP AS CC.OO. PRESSURE FOR  
UNITY OF ACTION INCREASED, AGUIRREZABAL CONCLUDED.

6. COMMENT. THE CC.OO., AS THE PCE, IS ANXIOUS TO PROMOTE  
AN IMAGE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND MODERATION. IT WANTS  
NOTHING MORE THAN TO BE ABLE TO BLEND INTO AND BE  
ACCEPTED AS PART OF SPAIN'S DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION  
PROCESS. THUS, UNLIKE THE CURRENTLY MORE AGGRESSIVE  
SOCIALIST UGT WHICH APPEARS ALMOST OBSESSED WITH THE  
POSSIBILITY OF A PSOE ACCESSION TO POWER AND THEREFORE  
SEEMS TO TAKE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO LAMBAST THE GOVERN-  
MENT, THE CC.OO. TAKES A COOPERATIVE LINE WITH RESPECT  
TO SUAREZ' UCD REGIME. IN A RECENT PRESS CONFERENCE,  
FOR EXAMPLE, CAMACHO DEFENDED THE MONCLOA PACT ("IT IS  
NOT CORRECT TO ASSERT THAT THE MONCLOA PACT HAS MEANT  
ONLY SACRIFICES FOR THE WORKERS . . . THERE HAVE  
BEEN WAGE INCREASES OF FROM 25 TO 27. . .") AND  
STATED THAT "CC.OO. WILL SUPPORT A HYPOTHETICAL  
SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT, BUT NO MATTER WHETHER THE PSOE  
OR UCD IS GOVERNING, THE ONLY WAY FOR THE NEXT FOUR  
OR FIVE YEARS IS A POLICY OF CONSENSUS . . . IN ORDER  
TO EMERGE FROM THE ECONOMIC CRISIS AND COMBAT UNEMPLOY-  
MENT."

7. WITH THE CC.OO.'S APPARENT EMERGENCE AS "NUMBER ONE"  
FOLLOWING THE RECENT LABOR PLANT ELECTIONS, IT FOLLOWS  
THAT THE PCE WOULD EMPHASIZE THE USE OF ITS TRADE  
UNION ARM TO FURTHER ITS OVERALL POLITICAL AIMS. CER-  
TAINLY THE RECENT INCLUSION (FOLLOWING THE PCE CONGRESS)  
OF A GOODLY NUMBER OF CC.OO. LEADERS IN THE TOP PCE  
LEADERSHIP IS RECOGNITION OF THE CC.OO.'S VITAL ROLE.  
IF AT ALL SUCCESSFUL, THE CC.OO.'S UNITY OF ACTION  
WITH THE UGT DRIVE WOULD ALSO MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT  
FOR THE PSOE TO REJECT ALLIANCES WITH THE PCE ON THE

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## Message Attributes

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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
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**Review Markings:**  
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